29: Spiro--189 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 121 Ifalik-1 - 4

"THE QUESTION of the incidence and kinds of mental illness found among primitive peoples has resulted in a respectable literature and has occasioned heated discussions. (1) It is not the purpose of this paper to enter into these many controversies or to discuss the problem of clinical versus cultural criteria of abnormality. Its nature is much less ambitious, being an account of just one abnormal personality in one primitive culture. It is the writer's hope that this paper will serve to re-emphasize what a number of writers have previously emphasized--the lack of concrete data on the nature of --

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"1. For an excellent survey of the literature, summary of divergent opinions, and an original interpretation--though one the writer does not entirely subscribe to--see Erwin H. Ackerknecht, 'Psychopathology, Primitive Medicine and Primitive Culture,' Bull. Hist. Med. (1943) 14:30-67."

psychopathology among primitive peoples. (2) With almost pathetic regularity, anthropological discussions of the nature of abnormality have been characterized by the absence of any intensive study of, or reference to, concrete individuals. (3) This lack of detailed

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"2. See Ackerknecht, reference footnote 1; A. I. Hallowell, 'Culture and Mental Disorders,' J. Abnormal and Social Psychol. (1934) 29:1-9; J. M. Cooper, 'Mental Disease Situations in Certain Cultures,' J. Abnormal and Social Psychol. (1934) 29:10-18; R. E. L. Faris, 'Some Observations on the Incidence of Schizophrenia in Primitive Societies,' J. Abnormal and Social Psychol. (1935) 29:30-31; J. P. Foley, 'The Criterion of Abnormality,' J. Abnormal and Social Psychol. (1935) 30:279-291; N. J. Demerath, 'Schizophrenia among Primitives,' Amer. J. Psychiatry (1942) 98:203-207. All these writers, as well as many others, point out the dire need for concrete cases of mental disorder among primitive peoples, if future discussions of this problem are to be fruitful.

3. The only exception, to the writer's knowledge, is found in A. I. Hallowell, 'Shabwan: A Dissocial Indian Girl,' Amer. J. Orthopsychiatry (1938) 8:329-340."

information, while in itself of no great consequence, becomes gravely serious when this very lack of information becomes the basis for building theories of the nature of abnormality from a cross-cultural perspective. It seems obvious that all theoretical formulations based on ethnographic data will remain mere verbal exercises until we shall have collected a large number of concrete cases in the field which can be subjected to scientific analysis. Impressionistic observations of an ethnographer, however competent he be, do not in themselves constitute objective evidence; and yet they are used by otherwise careful scholars as proof of or documentation for their theories. (4) "

" 4. Ackerknecht, whose scholarship is otherwise impeccable, accepts ethnographic generalizations unquestioningly. He quotes, without reservation, for example, Warner's evaluation of a Murngin magician as being 'perfectly normal in his behavior,' and in whom 'there was nothing sinister, peculiar or psychopathic....' Reference footnote 1; p. 52 (quoting from W. L. Warner, A Black Civilization; p. 210). One need not impugn Warner's competence as an observer to ask for the evidence for this statement. Generalizations on this level of abstraction constitute the bulk of the ethnographic 'evidence' in discussions of this problem. "

29: Spiro--189 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 121 Ifalik-4

This paper, then, is an attempt to begin to fill in this lacuna in our knowledge. The case to be presented is chosen because of its incontrovertible character. Tareveliman, the subject, is looked upon as abnormal by the members of his society, by the two anthropologists--Dr. E. G. Burrows and the writer--who studied the society, and by Tarev himself."

29: Spiro--189-190 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 753 Ifalik

"Tarev--the native contraction of his name--is one of 250 natives of Ifaluk, an atoll in the Central Carolines in Micronesia. Though the Carolines, as a group, have been in contact with 'civilization' for three centuries, Ifaluk remains a rela- [190] tively unacculturated society, so that the aboriginal culture, with minor exceptions, is completely functioning. (5) According to native disease theory, illness is caused by ghost possession. All souls are immortal, repairing to the Sky at death where they become alus, the generic term for ghosts. Good souls become benevolent alus, curing disease; whereas bad souls become malevolent alus, causing disease. One of the nine classifications of disease is that of malebush, a generic term for all behavior that seems queer or deviant from the native point of view. One of these malebush is Tarev."

"5. For a complete ethnographic report see the writer's 'Ifaluk, a South Sea Culture,' on file with the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council."

29: Spiro--190 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 177 Ifalik-1 ~3

"Tarev is a man in his early forties, an only child of parents who are dead. He had not only had a normal childhood, but his early adulthood, too, had been most exemplary. He had been both a good husband and a good father. He had been industrious in his work and cooperative and generous--highly esteemed values in Ifaluk--in his normal social interaction. Furthermore he had been acclaimed as an expert fisherman and was recognized as a skilled carpenter. In short, Tarev had enjoyed a position of respect and prestige in his society. The onset of his disease was not insidious, but was most precipitate. Shortly before the outbreak of war in the Pacific he had been inducted by the Japanese into a labor gang on Yap, and after his return the natives became aware of drastic changes in his behavior. He would not work but would spend many hours in isolation, engaging in private and seemingly meaningless conversations, songs, and dances. At other times, however, he would become violent, accusing people of wanting to kill him, and would resort to violent means of defending himself against these putative attackers. In short, his behavior exhibited the characteristics of the paranoid schizophrenic. These sporadic outbursts became so frequent that his wife and her family were afraid to live with him--residence in Ifaluk is matrilocal--and Tarev was moved to his maternal home where, it was thought, his own family would have greater control over him. This was

the situation when we arrived in Ifaluk in July 1947. (6)

Exactly what the experiences of the natives in the labor gangs were we do not know. One thing is fairly certain, however; the natives were not treated with great respect. On the contrary! Their treatment was often harsh and brutal. Some of the men informed me that the Japanese overseers did not hesitate to employ physical punishment, such as whipping, to enforce their demands. This characteristic of Japanese behavior left a deep impression on the natives, and they experienced it from the very beginning of their induction. The Japanese patrol would come to the island and demand a certain number of adult males from the chiefs. Their arrogant manner in dealing with the chiefs--speaking from raised platforms, shouting at them, and even beating them if they did not respond with alacrity--evoked both hatred and anxiety from the people. The men who were inducted were exposed to this treatment for the duration of their work-period. For people who had lived all their lives in a culture in which nonaggression was a

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"6. The writer and Dr. Burrows studied this culture from July 1947 to February 1948, under a grant from the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council, as members of the CIMA expedition (Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology). Funds were made available by the Navy Department."

29: Spiro--190
116, 159, 177

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Ifalik-3

supreme value and in which the greatest emphasis is placed on 'good talk,' meaning kindliness in speech, the behavior of the Japanese constituted a profoundly disturbing experience. The natives know of no instance of this kind of malebush prior to the Japanese occupation; and since the occupation, the only cases of this type have been two men who had worked in the labor gangs--Tarev and one other. To the knowledge of the people no person who had not had this Japanese experience has ever become a victim of this disorder."

29: Spiro--190-191 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 123 Ifalik-1 -2

"I should now like to turn to the actual examination of Tarev himself. Though we arrived in Ifaluk on July 27, there is no [191] entry in my field notes concerning Tarev until September 20. This may be explained by three factors: my own preoccupation with other ethnographic matters, Tarev's relative quiescence for long periods of time, and the reluctance of the natives to inform us about him. I first saw Tarev when I was administering a Rorschach in a house close to his. I mentioned to our interpreter that we would proceed next to his house, but he replied that the man in the next house was a 'fool fella,' and we would best leave him alone. When I questioned him about this man, it became evident that he was reluctant to talk about him. This reluctance characterized the other people as well. It was only when it became apparent that I could somehow control Tarev's aggressive behavior rather effectively that the people gave me information about him and no longer attempted to conceal his behavior from me.

The following description will follow my own chronological experiences with Tarev, and the materials recorded are taken directly from my field notes:

September 20, 1947. The 'fool fella' from Falalap [one of the two inhabited islands in the atoll] came up to Ted [Dr. E.G. Burrows] and me, as we arrived for the ceremonies, and asked to hold our hands. When we gave him our hands, he took them in his own and smelled them. Later in the day, he came to us and asked us to go with him, but the chiefs asked us not to comply with his wishes. Still later, when we returned to Ifaluk

[the other of the two inhabited islands; the one on which we lived], we found Tarev speaking to Maroligar [Tarev's uncle, one of the five chiefs] and telling him that he would like to return to his wife or else marry another woman. Maroligar told him that he could not remarry yet, and that it was our wish that he not do so. (7)

September 24, 1947. Tarev has caused quite a disturbance today. He wished to go to Falalap to see his wife, but the men told him not to go. When he persisted, they had to restrain him by force."

"7. From the very beginning, therefore, the ethnographers were involved in Tarev's activities. This is important to bear in mind with reference to the transference which later developed between Tarev and me."

"October 15, 1947. This morning Maroligar asked if he could use our [WPM: the author's] canoe. I, of course, gave him permission. When he returned, he explained that Tarev had tried to commit suicide by drowning. He had tied a rope around his neck, weighted stones to his feet, and was about to jump from his canoe into the lagoon when Maroligar and two other men stopped him. (This occurred a few days after the death of his wife.) Apparently he had had a trying night the night before, since he spent the entire night shouting and talking to himself. Among other things he had insisted that he was superior to the other people and that he was really an American. (8)

I asked Maroligar if I could speak to Tarev, and he was eager that I do so. When we arrived at the courtyard of his house, I noticed that all the women in the immediate area had departed because of their fear of him. When I peered into the house, he saw me immediately, and his face brightened. When I asked him to come out, saying that I

"8. The American is a person of high prestige and authority in this South Sea culture. It is difficult to say whether Tarev's insistence that he is an American is an outright delusion or rather a conscious attempt to identify with a 'reference group' of high status (the term is M. Sherif's)."

would like to speak with him, he immediately complied with my request. I offered him a cigarette and asked him if he were happy. He replied that he was very sad because of the death of his wife. I asked him why he had tried to commit suicide, and he explained that all the people were speaking 'bad' (9) to him. Maroligar interrupted him to say that he was lying. My grasp of the language was inadequate to continue the interview without the aid of an interpreter, and I asked Maroligar to call Tom, our interpreter. I tried to talk with Tarev in Maroligar's absence, but he seemed in a kind of stupor, and I could not get through to him. He regained contact with reality when Tom arrived, and the following interview ensued.[192]

Q. Why did you try to kill yourself?

A. Because the people talk bad to me.

"9. At this point, I could obtain no exact reference for the word 'bad.'

29: Spiro--191-192 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 762, 115 Ifalik-3

"Q. What do they say?

A. My mother talks bad. [Actually his 'mother' is his maternal aunt, which, in this culture, is his classificatory mother. His biological parents are dead.]

Q. What does she say?

A. She says that my wife does not like her or her sister.

Q. Why?

A. [No answer.]

Q. Were you very sad today?

A. My wife died. I feel like smashing everything in the house, because my mother and her sister do not like my wife. My wife died and I am very sad. (10)

Q. But other men's wives die and they do not try to commit suicide. Why should you?

A. I don't like my mother or father or sister.

Q. Don't they feed you?

A. Yes, they give me good food, but they talk too much.

Q. What do they say?

A. The children listen to what my parents say about me, and they repeat it to me.

Q. What do they say about you?

A. My parents say that I am a chief.

"10. The native term for sad is eratu dipei, which literally translated means, my stomach feels bad."

Q. Don't you like that?

A. I don't like what the children say to me.

Q. Don't you like to be called a chief?

A. They say that tree [pointing to it] does not belong to you, it belongs to us. The adults tell them to say that. [At this point, Maroligar interrupted to say that Tarev had accused him and his parents of wishing to fight him. He insisted that everything Tarev was saying was a lie. It was, of course, impossible to explain to him that Tarev was not 'lying' but was a victim of his own delusions.]

Q. Is it true, as people have told me, that an alus has possessed you?

A. Yes, the alus in the moon has entered my head and my stomach. [This convinced Tom and Maroligar even more that he was lying, because there is no alus in the moon.]

Q. How do you know that he has possessed you?

A. He came to my father. He [his father is actually dead] lives in another place. When he possessed my father, he possessed me.

Q. Where is your father?

A. Those pictures you showed me [the Rorschach cards], I like them very much. The place in the North, that's the place I see now.

Q. What place?

A. There's another one in the Northeast. This place in the North is very light.

When I sit in my house, it's very dark; then, that North place, the one I like very much, comes on top of my head.

Q. How does it feel when it comes on top of your head?

A. I like it very much. When I pull up the blanket, I look underneath the sleeping mat, and smoke comes out. I then lower the mat and look underneath another one, and smoke comes out from it, too.

Q. What happens to you when the alus of the moon possesses you?

A. That man inside that padre book [the Bible that a missionary had shown him] and his mother come inside me.

Q. What does it feel like when they come inside you?

A. I don't know.

Q. Did they come inside you this morning, when you tried to commit suicide?

A. No.

Q. Did they come inside you last night?

A. The alus gave me something--something very fine.

Q. What did he give you?

A. Smoke. He put smoke inside my mouth, but it did not enter my stomach.

Q. You like that smoke?

A. I like it very much.

Q. Why?
A. [No answer.]
Q. Does your head hurt you now?
A. I went to Falalap to wail for my wife. I waved my arms, and when I came back, I continued to do so.
Q. Don't you like it here?
A. Yes, I would like to remain. But I would like an American doll. (11)
Q. Why would you like one?
A. Because the Americans know everything. The people here are stupid.
Q. Do you want a carving of a man or a woman or a child?
A. Any kind.
Q. Would you like to go to America?
A. If you go, I want to go with you. I want to go any place you go.

"11. The native men carve small statuettes, which they trade for cigarettes and other trade-goods. By an American doll or statuette, he meant a similar carving of an American."

29: Spiro--191-192 (1947-48) 1950 * Woleaians
116, 159, 762, 115 Ifalik-7

By this time Tom and Maroligar were completely impatient with this 'crazy lie talk' and insisted on terminating the interview. I told Tarev that I would be unhappy if he committed suicide, and that if he felt like doing it again, he should first come to see me. He replied that his wife had 'gone into the ocean [where she was buried] and I want to go too.' "

29: Spiro--192-193 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 125 Ifalik-1 -5

"October 19, 1947. Tarev has been cycloid in his behavior lately. He appears to be fairly adjusted for a few days and [193] then reverts to his fighting and delusions. Last night he took a long, heavy pole into his house, and worried everyone as to the use he would put it to. The women in his household had set out to take some prepared food to a family in mourning, but he would not permit them to go. Today, I attempted to give him some psychological tests. One of the tests was the Stewart Emotional Response in which the subject is asked what makes him happy, sad, angry, ashamed, and the like. The following is the result of the futile attempt.

Q. How have you been feeling lately?
A. I just had a dream of X [a chief who had recently died].
Q. Have you been feeling well?
A. I went to Tom's sister. She said I could not have the taro, since it belongs to someone else.
Q. Have you ever been happy?
A. I like what you say. When you talk, I am happy, for your talk is like my talk.
Q. Have you ever been very sad?
A. I like you because you like this place. You came here, though it is very small.
Q. Have you ever been very sad?
A. Some days, when I don't like what people say.

Q. Are you ever afraid?

A. When I walk around.

Q. Any other time?

A. When I want to walk around, someone always tells me to stay where I am and not to go away.

Q. Have you ever been angry?

A. When I want to go some place, and someone tells me that I can't go.

Q. Anything else?

A. I'm never angry.

Q. Have you ever been ashamed?

A. I don't talk to the women of this place because I am afraid.

Q. Yes, but have you ever been ashamed?

A. I took the wife of another man. Now I don't like that woman; I don't talk to her because I don't like her. I would like a woman to come to me, but only to talk to. I don't want to look beneath her skirt. I don't like the women of this island.

Q. Why?

A. My stomach does not like them.

Q. Would you like to have sexual intercourse with them?

A. No. One woman came to talk to me; I always remember her. I wanted to marry her, but Tom did not want me to.

Q. Why don't you like the women here?
A. My stomach doesn't like them.
Q. Why not?
A. She came to me; I talked to her. I wanted to see her genitals. God told all the people, a long time ago, to copulate. But I don't want to.
Q. Is there anything you want?
A. No.
Q. Is there anything you like?
A. No.
Q. Do you like Tom?
A. No.
Q. Do you like Maroligar?
A. When he talked bad to me, I did not like him. Now he talks good, I like him.
Q. Do you like the chiefs?
A. I am afraid of the chiefs.
Q. Do you like Arivimae [his son]?
A. Yes, very much.
Q. Do you like your mother?
A. Yes.

Q. What did you do with the pole you took last night?

A. Two men were talking and I was afraid. I took the pole and brought it into the house. If they come to fight me, I can fight them. Now somebody has stolen the pole.

Q. What did these men say?

A. Wasugu, waisuk. [These are nonsense syllables. Tom said it must be the speech of the alus.]

Q. Do you still see the smoke you told me about?

A. No.

Q. Is there anything you would like to tell me?

A. Yes.

Q. What?

A. If you want to tell me something, not to shout or to fight, I will listen to you. If anyone else goes someplace, the people do not talk bad to him, but they talk bad to me.

Q. Do you still think of that place in the North?

A. I like the North very much. A very fine place. When another man calls me, I go there.

Q. What man?

A. I don't know.

Q. When did he call you?

A. Yesterday. He came and called me. I walked around in circles, walked around and around, and then fell down. Then that man came and walked around me. I stood up, and I saw the North.

Q. What did you see?

A. Tom's brother came. He said, 'Don't go; stay here.' I was very angry.

Q. Why do you like the North?

A. I don't know. The alus possesses me; he knows that place.

This interview came to a close by the arrival of a number of men, and Tarev would not continue to talk."

29: Spiro--193-194 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 775

"October 22, 1947. Today, while Tom and I were conducting some research, Tarev came to me to complain about his prob-[194] lems. It seems that the previous night people had tried to fight with him and kill him. He did not know who they were. He then said that he hears voices from Woleae (an atoll about thirty miles to the west of Ifaluk). When I questioned him, he replied that the voices were those of his (dead) wife, who was complaining to the chiefs of Woleae that he (Tarev) was incompetent and unable to work. The chiefs in turn told Tarev that he should be good. He then said that he had not eaten for two days and had sustained himself by drinking coconut juice. He explained, when I asked, that there was an alus on his head who did not want him to eat. I asked him if the alus were still there, and he said that it had left him. Unfortunately, I had an appointment, so I had to take my leave. I told him to go home and eat, and he promised that he would."

29: Spiro--194-195 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 115 Ifalik-I -6

"November 4, 1947. Yesterday I saw Tarev running towards the public meeting hall (atelu). He touched the front pillar, clutched it as if he wanted to take something from it, and then ran back to his home. A short time later, I saw him running past my tent, heading towards Falalap, being pursued by a number of men. The men asked if I would stop him, since their efforts were futile. I was reluctant to do so, since I felt that interference by me would destroy the rapport I had established, but I could ill afford to refuse their request. I caught up to him and persuaded him to return to his home and promised that I would come to see him. Tom and I went to see him today. (12)

"12. Tarev still had the habit of seizing the hands of Dr. Burrows and myself and of smelling them deeply. Dr. Burrows informed me that on this same day, Tarev attempted to smell his hands, but could not do so since he was typing. Instead he smelled his feet."

29: Spiro--194-195 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 115 Ifalik-2

Q. Why did you go to the public meeting hall yesterday?

A. I was in my house and somebody told me to go there, because the chiefs are there holding a meeting.

Q. Where were you going when I saw you later?

A. I was afraid that a small alus was hiding near my house, so I left.

Q. Did you see the alus?

A. No, but I heard it moving inside the house.

Q. How are you feeling today?

A. My arm is very tired. When I walk, I feel that I am not walking on the ground. I feel as if my feet are walking on air.

Q. Why is that?

A. I don't know. When I attempt to walk, I fall down.

Q. Is anything bothering you today?

A. Wotrilitu [a relative by marriage] stole my wife.

Q. How do you know?

A. He stole her from me a long time ago.

Q. Are you angry with him for that?

A. I took care of his children, but he stole my wife.

Q. Are you feeling better today than the last time we spoke?

A. I feel happier. But I can't stay in my sleeping mat because it is always moving.

Q. So you didn't sleep last night?

A. A little bit. But many people came to see me.

Q. Who were the people?

A. All the people of Ifaluk.

Q. What did they say to you?

A. Many people came; they spoke. It was bad talk. They spoke lies and gossip. Someone said that you and Ted called me. I went to see, but you were not there. Now I know they lied to me.

Q. What else did they say to you?

A. They said that a certain woman is menstruating, and she should not stay here, but should go to one of the menstrual huts in Falalap. Someone else said that we should not take stones from here to make an um [underground cooking pit], but we should take them from over there.

Q. Did they say anything else?

A. There were four pieces of taro on the side of my house. Someone took them and went to a menstrual hut with them.

Q. What did he want with the taro?

A. All the women went to the menstrual hut. Mr. Mel and Mr. Ted ordered the fish to enter the lagoon, and many fish came.

Q. Then what?

A. Many fish entered the lagoon. No, Mr. Ted and Mr. Mel did not order the fish, an alus ordered the fish.

Q. Why did he order the fish?

A. Many fish came, many people ate. [A long pause.] Day and night they spoke. A man came. He said that the fish would come.

Q. Then what happened?

A. Somebody told me yesterday, 'You will not get sick; no typhoon. Go to Mr. Mel and Mr. Ted.'

Q. Why?

A. Now I understand. It was not you who asked me to come, but someone else asked me. I want to take my grandchild.

Q. Why do you want your grandchild?

A. [No answer.] [195]

Q. Are people still speaking bad things to you?

A. People lie to me because they know I am a malebush.

Q. What do they say?

A. They say, 'You are malebush,' 'You are a thief,' 'You are a bad man.'

Q. Is what they say true?

A. They lie. Somebody said my wife went to another man. Some man stole my wife.

Q. Have you gone to that place in the North lately?

A. No.

Q. Is there anything you would like, now?

A. I thought I was happy. And then I heard many voices, and I became unhappy. Yesterday I wanted to go to the ocean and swim away, for I can't stand all that talk.

Q. What talk?

A. That someone stole my wife from me.

Q. Did you dream last night?

A. No.

Q. Has the alus come to you lately?

A. He comes very often, day and night.

Q. What does he do?

A. [He said nothing, but clasped his hands together, as in Christian prayer, and pointed them at me. He then put his hand on my head and rumpled my hair. He then put his finger on my head, then my stomach, and finally on my leg. Apparently he was demonstrating to me what the alus does to him.]

Q. Are you afraid of the alus?

A. No.

Q. Is it a male or female alus?

A. It dances. It bends and sways. I like to see it. I see the alus dance. Then I imitate the alus, I dance too.

By this time, Tom had become disgusted with the entire interview, and insisted that he could not continue because Tarev 'talk lie, only talk lie.'"

29: Spiro--195
116, 159, 762

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"November 7, 1947. Yesterday while the men had all gone on a fishing trip, Tarev made another suicide attempt. He paddled into the lagoon, tied a rope to his foot, and tied rocks to the other end. A young man, who had been left behind to guard him, followed him; and when Tarev jumped into the lagoon, the man pulled him out. By this time, Maroligar had returned from fishing and asked Tarev to return to land. The latter refused, saying that Maroligar wanted to kill him (sic!). He was finally persuaded to return. (I was told all this secondhand, since I was on the other side of the island at the time. Unfortunately I did not have an opportunity to speak to Tarev after the incident.)"

29: Spiro--195-196 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 177 Ifalik-17

"November 14, 1947. Maroligar woke me last night, very disturbed, saying that Tarev was 'tonight no good.' It seems that he had been doing some kind of private dance inside his house, and was disturbing others with the noise he was making. I proceeded with Maroligar to Tarev's house, pulled back the door mat, and saw that he was standing in the center of the house, his back to me, holding a large pole in his hand. When I called his name, he turned towards me, looked at me long, and then gave a sigh of relief--as if some heavy burden had been lifted from his shoulders. He ran towards me, as if he were a little boy, grabbed my hands in his, and smelled both palms deeply. He talked to me, but his speech was entirely unintelligible. I gave him a cigarette and told him to try to sleep. I waited outside his house for a half-hour and, satisfied that he was sleeping, returned to my tent. This morning, Maroligar informed me that after I had left last night, Tarev became aggressive and threw rocks at his 'mother.'

This morning I went to interview him. He looked very depressed and did not greet me with his usual warmth. Throughout the interview, he would put his face in his hands, as if he were trying to forget something. As the interview continued, he warmed up to the situation, but not with the same warmth and intensity that characterized the other interviews.

Q. Why did you dance last night?
A. I did nothing. I only held the pole.

Q. What did you do with the pole?
A. I took it for that white man.
Q. But why did you dance?
A. It was for the white man. He has something in his clothes.
Q. What does he have in his clothes?
A. Just as in the movies. [He had seen movies on Yap.]
Q. What?
A. I saw it in the movies and was imitating it.
Q. What did you see?
A. I saw it in the movies. Yesterday afternoon I made that pole.
Q. Why did you throw a stone at your mother?
A. Metagiso [her husband] had a knife and struck the stone with it. [196]
Q. Why did he do that?
A. I didn't like it. I was angry and threw the stone at my mother.
Q. Why didn't you like it?
A. He hit one knife on top of another.
Q. But why did you throw the stone?
A. I was afraid.
Q. Why?

A. I remember yesterday afternoon I took coconuts to drink, and Metagiso and my mother said they would kill me tonight. [He laughs.] Metagiso went fishing and the fire in the house had gone out. I went to Maroligar's house to get a light for my cigarette. [At this point Tom interrupted him, and they engaged in a heated argument, which I lost completely.] Someone called me and I woke up.

Q. Who called you?

A. No one. Metagiso came in in the late afternoon. Then something like fire came down, circled my house a few times, and finally settled on the tree.

Q. What was it?

A. It wasn't fire. It settled on the tree, then came to the ground and circled around.

Q. But what was it?

A. [He took a blade of grass, and showed me a piece about a quarter of an inch long.] It came inside the house, and the fire became larger, and then it became smaller--larger and smaller. Metagiso caught it in his fish net. He put it by the side of my house.

Q. Were you afraid of it?

A. No.

Q. Did you like it?

A. [He did not answer, but placed his hands in a prayer-like pose, and bent his head.]

Q. Did you like it?

A. No. I said to it, 'Good morning, master.'

Q. Where is it now?

A. I lifted the door mat and it went away. [He then pointed to swarms of small flying insects that were visible only in the rays of the sun shining through the doorway.] They were just like them--many, many.

Q. Did you dream last night?

A. No.

Q. Why did you do that dance?

A. The Americans danced in those clothes.

Q. What clothes?

A. People walked in those clothes.

Q. What kind of clothes were they? Like my clothes?

A. They were soldier clothes [uniforms]. What the soldiers did, I did.

Q. What did you do?

A. There were many soldiers. What they did, I did.

Q. Were you afraid of the soldiers?

A. I fought with one of the soldiers. He knifed me in my stomach and my head. I removed the knife. He gave me much money, but I did not keep it. I threw it away.

Q. But I don't see any wounds on you.

A. The knife came through my head and back. I pulled it through, rubbed the wound, and it disappeared.

Q. Where did the soldiers go?

A. The knife came through my head and back, so I pulled it out, rubbed the place, and the wound disappeared. Then another one came to fight me.

Q. Why did the soldiers want to fight you?

A. Because I was very bad. I drank wine, and then I began to shout and break things. So they came to fight me.

Q. Why did you drink so much and break things?

A. Those men did not like it. Four men came to fight me. They threw me to the ground and I began to bleed. Then they began to fight with me. They gave me money.

Q. What kind of soldiers were they?

A. American soldiers. I did an American dance.

Q. How do you feel now?

A. I am always happy, for a dance comes to me, just like the wind.

Q. Do you like the dance?

A. I like.

Q. Has the alus come to you lately?

A. He is in me now. He never goes away.

Q. Where is he in you?
A. In my stomach.
Q. Is it a male or female alus?
A. Male. Last night I dance. Last night I danced, and there was a typhoon, and a tidal wave. I wanted my mother to see.
Q. Really?
A. I was at the land of the alus when it came.
Q. Where is that place?
A. The ocean came on top of me in huge waves.
Q. Where is the land of the alus?
A. I saw that paper, and I understood. A man came to me; he did not talk bad to me, he talked good. So I did not go to the land of the alus.
Q. Where is the land of the alus?
A. It is like the movies. An American man came to me. He said, 'Do you have any copras?' 'I have no more.' 'Why?' 'We need the coconuts to eat here.' 'Then I'll kill you.' 'No, don't kill me.' 'I'm going to kill all the people here.' 'No, don't kill them.' 'I'll kill you.' So he killed me.
Q. Are you dead now?
A. No, he killed me, but I was revived. Four American men gave me some whiskey. I drank one glass, and then threw away the bottle. I finished four bottles. The men gave

me money, but I told my children, 'You take the money.'

As usual, we were interrupted. A school of fish was sighted, and the men called Tom to join them in launching the canoes."

29: Spiro--197 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 158 Ifalik

"November 23, 1947. Maroligar came running to our tent to inform me that Tarev had just attempted to burn his house. His mother had discovered it in time and had beaten him for this act. I went to investigate the matter, and, by the time I arrived at his house, a number of men had gathered outside. As I was speaking to the men, Tarev came out of the house, seized my hand and smelled it. He was very agitated--perhaps in the worst condition I had seen him--and seemed to display a mixture of rage, anger, and fear. Tom was unavailable so that it was impossible to obtain a formal interview. I managed to gather from his incoherent and agitated speech that the people were again speaking 'bad' and wanted to kill him. I finally succeeded in allaying his fears, and he became fairly calm.

The men finally concluded that they must take some measure to prevent another outbreak, and asked me if they should tie him up. They said that Aneitin (the other schizophrenic) had been violent in the past, but after being tied for a couple of days, his violence disappeared permanently. Perhaps it would have the same effect on Tarev. I suggested that they wait a little, that I would have dinner and would return after dinner. If he became violent, they should then tie him. They predicted that as soon as I left he would again become violent, but when I returned later in the evening, he was still quite peaceful."

29: Spiro--197 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 521 Ifalik-1 - 2.

"November 25, 1947. Yesterday as I was sitting in a canoe shed, near Tarev's house, I heard some of the weirdest sounds I have ever listened to. I could not identify them at all, but one of the men said that they were emitted by Tarev. I went to investigate, but his door mat was covering the entrance to the house. He was talking and 'singing' in a falsetto, the kind of falsetto these people employ when quoting another person. (13) It was as if he were another person or were talking in the tones of another person. I asked one of the men what he was saying, but he said that he did not have the slightest idea. It seemed to him that Tarev was speaking a foreign language. Tarev stopped this talking, but after a brief pause resumed--this time in a deep, masculine voice. I lifted the door mat and called to him. He was standing in the middle of the house, but seemed not to hear me. I called twice more, but he still did not respond. As I turned to leave, he came towards me. I asked what he had been doing. He said that he had been dancing,

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"13. When a person in this society reports a conversation that he has had with someone, the report is always in the form of a direct, rather than an indirect, quotation. In quoting the remarks of the other person, the reporter resorts to a falsetto. Tarev's conversation was in the falsetto that is employed in such conversations."

and as he spoke his face was radiant and his whole attitude was completely euphoric. He said he enjoyed his dance immensely and when I asked how he was feeling, he said that he was very happy. I gave him a cigarette, and he seized my hand to smell it. (14)"

"14. The contrast between this manic state and the state of complete anguish that characterized him the previous day was most striking."

29: Spiro--197-199
116, 159, 681, 115

(1947-48) 1950

Woleaians
Ifalik-1-6

"November 27, 1947. Yesterday was the climax to a series of events involving Tarev. Maroligar came by in the afternoon, saying that he had some work in Falalap, but that when he returned, he was going to tie Tarev. When I asked why he had so decided, he said that Tarev had tried to strike him with a pole, and this was the end of his patience. When he returned in the afternoon, he called for me, and we proceeded to Tarev's house. On our way, a young man came running to inform Maroligar that Tarev had just attempted to set fire to his house, but had been caught just in time. As we approached the courtyard, we saw that it was surrounded by a host of people, most of whom were afraid to approach the house. Inside the house, Tarev was struggling with two men who were trying to drag him out of the house. They finally succeeded in doing so, and when Maroligar approached him with a rope, Tarev surrendered himself to him without a word. He voluntarily extended his hands, and Maroligar tied his hands and feet. After he was tied, the men attempted to take him into the house, but he fell to [198] the ground. He began to shout at Maroligar, calling him a wicked man, saying that he was no chief for him and that he would not obey him. (The previous day, Tarev had insisted that he himself was chief.) Two other men took him inside the house, where they spoke with him kindly and patiently, explaining that they did not at all like what they had done, but that they had no alternative, since the people were afraid of him. Further, they explained to him that the people were good and wished him no harm. They also made sure that the rope was not too tight and that it did not pain him. I, also, explained to him that no one wished

him harm, and that when he returned to his nonaggressive state, they would release him.

A group of men remained outside, and as we were talking we heard signs of disturbance inside the house. Maroligar went inside and found that Tarev had untied himself and accused Maroligar and the people of mistreating him. When Maroligar tried to retie him, Tarev would not permit him to do so, but said he would permit Letar (one of the other men) to do so. Letar tied him in my presence, but Maroligar had to leave the house, because the mere sight of him made Tarev violent. (Bothe Maroligar and Tom are Tarev's uncles.)

I returned to Tarev's house in the evening, and was told that he had been peaceful, though he had been talking to himself again. Later at night, however, Maroligar came to ask me if it would be all right if they tied Tarev's hands behind his back so that he could not untie the rope again. Otherwise the women would be afraid to sleep. I returned with Maroligar to Tarev's house. He seemed to be sleeping, and his mother was sitting by his side. It was obvious that he could break loose if he desired to do so, and I told Maroligar that if they wished to tie him, I would have no objections. Maroligar called two other men to help him. By this time, Tarev had awakened, but he became violent at the very sight of Maroligar and though he permitted him to untie his hands, he would not permit him to retie him. He offered his hands to one of the other men, but when the latter attempted to tie his hands behind his back, Tarev resisted. He appealed to me,

but I tried to explain to him that this man (Mageleisei) was only doing what was best for everybody and harbored no ill will against him; and I asked him to cooperate. At this, he became meek as a child, lost all his aggressiveness, and permitted himself to be tied. When we left him, he was smiling and wished us a goodnight.

Today I had an interview with Tarev, but it was quite brief, since Tom clearly did not find these interviews of any use and was entirely uncooperative.

Q. Why did you try to fight yesterday?

A. It was nothing. I just did not like the talk of Maroligar and my mother. She said to me, 'Everything is fine now. You no longer have a wife, so you can do anything you want.'

Q. Why did you hit Maroligar?

A. I don't like what my mother says. I want to put a rope around my neck.

Q. Why did you fight Maroligar?

A. I don't want to fight. I took the stick so Maroligar and my mother would be afraid of me.

Q. Why do you want them to be afraid of you?

A. I don't do anything. But Maroligar and my family talk bad to me--day and night.

Q. What do they say?

A. They talk bad. I became angry and tried to hit Maroligar and my mother.

Q. But what do they say?

A. Many days and nights, now, they've been speaking bad. They talk too much.

Q. What do they say?

A. Maroligar comes and asks, 'What is Tarev doing?' The family says, 'He is doing so-and-so.' I don't like it.

Q. Why don't you like it?

A. Maroligar told my mother, 'Talk bad to Tarev.' My mother told me, 'Maroligar said that I should talk bad to you.'

Q. Do you still think that you are chief?

A. I never said that.

Q. Why don't you like Maroligar?

A. Maroligar says, 'You can't take those coconuts. If you want coconuts you've got to go to Falalap.'

Q. Why did you try to burn your house?

A. I don't like their talk. I burned the house so there would no longer be a house.

Q. How do you feel about having your hands tied?

A. I don't know. It's like being a dog or a pig. [199]

Q. Is that alus you told me about still inside you?

A. No. Maroligar and Arogeligar [the priest] gave me an alus.

Q. Why did they do that?
A. They gave me one alus.
Q. You don't like that alus?
A. No. I like my own alus. My alus likes to dance. I like that.
Q. What does the other alus do?
A. If it's a good alus, I like it. If it's bad, I don't like it.
Q. What does the other alus do?
A. He always wants to talk. Much of my talk is not my talk, it is the alus talking in me. (15)
Q. Yesterday you said that Maroligar and some other men tried to beat you. When did this happen?
A. They beat me, and I died.

"15. This he picked up from Maroligar. Whenever Tarev becomes violent and accuses people of aggressive and malicious designs on him, Maroligar tells him that it is not he but the alus in him that is talking."

Q. When?
A. I don't know. They want to kill me.
Q. Why do they want to do that?
A. I don't like that talk. I want to die. I don't like that talk.

When I rose to leave, Tarev asked if I would remove his rope. I explained that I could not do so, since the decision had to be made by his family."

29: Spiro--199 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159 Ifalik

"December 6, 1947. Tarev was violent again yesterday. He came to me in the morning complaining that he had wanted to work, but that the other men would not permit him. Later in the day he tried to beat his sister with a coconut branch, and this again aroused the fear of the women. Maroligar came to tell me that they would have to tie him again. In the evening some people told me to go see Tarev immediately. A group of people were standing around Tarev and he was shouting at them in angry tones. It seems that he had stolen the basket of Arogeligar, and when he was caught, he again accused the people of talking bad about him and wanting to harm him. But order was soon restored."

29: Spiro--199 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 198, 158 Ifalik

"November 28, 1947. As we were finishing dinner yesterday, we saw Tarev walking towards our tent. He had chewed off his rope (which the people knew), and had then come to us (which they did not know). He was quite meek, and when I asked him to return to his house with me, he readily agreed. He told me that Maroligar, Tom, and Mageleisei had tried to kill him the night before. I tried to persuade him that this was not true, but he would not be convinced.

As I passed his house later in the evening he was singing, talking, and shouting in a number of different tones. Again the men informed me that they did not know what he was saying, that it all was strange to them."

29: Spiro--199-200 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 123, 834 Ifalik-1 -4

"January 6, 1948. Tarev has been behaving very well since the last altercation. He moved, with everyone's consent, to an uninhabited house in an uncleared part of the island, and lived there without molesting anyone. He spent his time clearing the bush, walking about, and doing a lot of the 'ventriloquist' singing which has already been noted.

Towards me he has been like a little boy. His relationship is almost the classical 'transference' situation. He was constantly doing favors for Ted and me. He cleared the brush from our camp. He brought us fish and coconuts. He would go into the woods to bring me flowers and angorik (a cherished herb). Whenever he wished to go someplace or do something, he would come to ask for my permission (which I always gave him). I would praise him for his good behavior and reward him with a cigarette. And, of course, he would greet me and depart with the smell-of-the-hand routine.

The day before yesterday, however, his behavior changed completely. One of the young men was fishing in the lagoon in front of Tarev's house. Tarev told him to leave, and when he refused, Tarev began beating him with a coconut branch. A passer-by saw what was happening and called some men to help him subdue Tarev. By the time I arrived on the scene, the fight had ended. Tarev was having a heated argument with Arogeligar (the young man's father), and they were surrounded by a large group of people. Tarev began to threaten Arolgeligar, but the latter made no attempt to defend himself. At this point Tom arrived on the scene, his face livid with anger, and shouted at [200]

Tarev to desist from his activities. The latter lunged at Tom, trying to strike him, when I intervened. I took Tarev by the arm and asked him to come with me. He followed me without a word of protest, becoming as meek now as before he had been aggressive. As we sat in his house talking, some men came in to tie him. When he saw them, he ran out and refused to let them near him. They managed to surround him, and then one of the men untied his loin cloth. While he was occupied with keeping his loin cloth up, the men seized him, threw him to the ground and tied him. (16)

"16. Ifaluk exhibits a strong pattern of sexual puritanism. No form of sexual behavior is permitted in public, nor are sexual terms, either anatomical or physiological, ever spoken in the presence of members of both sexes. Though the men wear the briefest of loincloths and the women wear skirts, but are nude from the waist up, they have an inordinate sense of shame concerning the exposure of the genitalia. The men, for example, cover their genitals when bathing in the lagoon or when urinating, even if they are in the presence of men only. Should a person of the other sex see one's genitals, the sense of shame would be overwhelming. The seizing of Tarev's loincloth, therefore, was a shrewd tactic, designed to catch him off guard, and, of course, it was effective."

By this time the people were angrier than I had ever thought they could possibly become. Until now they had all been patient with him, exhibiting the greatest restraint in their treatment of him. But this, apparently, was the stimulus that evoked all their pent-up hostility. Tom was so angry that he slapped him in the face--an unheard-of act of aggression in this culture. Their anger was soon dissipated, however, and in the evening a number of people went to visit Tarev and asked if they could do anything for him. Tom told me that he was terribly sorry for what he had done and had invited Tarev to sleep in his house.

Yesterday I was busy and had no time to visit Tarev. Last night I was awakened by loud sobbing and wailing near our tent. Tarev had left his house and had come to ask me to remove the rope from his hands. The men followed him, however, and took him back to his house. This time they tied his legs as well.

This morning some boys came running to me to say that Tarev was coming to see me. His hands and feet were still tied so that he had had to inch his way to our tent, a distance of about three city blocks from his house. I untied his feet, took him home, and left him in the care of his uncle.

Later in the afternoon, as I was watching a canoe-launching ceremony, a young boy came to tell me that Tarev had taken a hunting knife from our tent. The entire village was alarmed, thinking that he was going to attack someone with it. We searched for him without success. Just as were returning from our search, we saw him carrying

three large bunches of coconuts to our tent. He had taken the knife in order to cut the coconuts. The nuts were heavy and his wrists and ankles were chafed from the rope, so I asked him to let me carry some of them, but he would not permit me to do so, saying that they were not heavy."

29: Spiro--200 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 514 Ifalik

"16. Ifaluk exhibits a strong pattern of sexual puritanism. No form of sexual behavior is permitted in public, nor are sexual terms, either anatomical or physiological, ever spoken in the presence of members of both sexes. Though the men wear the briefest of loincloths and the women wear skirts, but are nude from the waist up, they have an inordinate sense of shame concerning the exposure of the genitalia. The men, for example, cover their genitals when bathing in the lagoon or when urinating, even if they are in the presence of men only. Should a person of the other sex see one's genitals, the sense of shame would be overwhelming. The seizing of Tarev's loincloth, therefore, was a shrewd tactic, designed to catch him off guard, and, of course, it was effective."

"January 18, 1948. Tarev comes to see me at least once a day. He smells my neck, now, as well as my hands, and at times includes my body and legs as well. He tells me, when he comes, that he has merely come for a walk, and after the smelling ritual, he returns to his house. The day before yesterday Tarev came to our tent, but I deliberately kept out of sight to see what he would do. A chair and table, used for typing, were still standing in front of the tent. He picked up the chair, and smelled the seat in deep draughts. Then, still holding the chair to his nose, he turned round and round, describing complete circles. He then place the chair on the ground, taking meticulous care to place it in the exact position it had formerly occupied, and then began to perform a kind of dance. This time he did not remain in the center of the circle, but rather described revolving spirals, which took him a distance of about fifty yards from whence he had begun. He then came to the canoe shed, from which his son and I were observing his behavior, and sat with us for a short time. Suddenly his face acquired a trance-like expression, and he left us to return to his dance, but with a much accelerated tempo. His spirals took him into the bush this time, and his son and I followed. I [201] called to him but he did not hear or see me, though he looked straight at me. His son was fearful lest Tarev injure himself, so I walked up to him and seized him by the shoulders. He was panting from sheer physical exhaustion, looked startled at seeing me, suddenly relaxed, smiled, and then began to laugh. I asked him what he had been doing, and his

answer was'tar,' nothing. I walked back to his house with him.
Yesterday, I had an interview with him.

Q. Did you dream last night?
A. Yes, but I don't remember it.
Q. What were you trying to do with the chair yesterday?
A. Nothing. I turned around with the chair, because the smoke came all over me.
Q. What smoke?
A. I turned the chair around because I saw the paper, and did what the paper said.
Q. But what smoke came to you?
A. I turned around with the chair; I saw something just like that [taking out an empty pack of cigarettes which I had thrown away, and pointing to the red seal with the name Lucky Strike on it].
Q. Do you like that?
A. Yes.
Q. Why?
A. I like that writing on it.
Q. What did that paper [the pack] tell you to do?

A. It is red, just like the torches used during night-fishing. (17)

Q. How are you feeling now?

A. I feel very good inside. Last night I began to shout, for I had something very bad inside me.

Q. What was it?

A. Somebody spoke bad to me, but I forget it now.

Q. Who spoke bad to you?

A. Teior [a man who is now dead; Teior had been married to a woman from Woleae]. He said, 'Let's you and me stay here.' He spoke bad. I did not like it, so I began to shout.

Q. What were the bad things he said?

A. He came to my wife's mother, and when I arrived, he left. Before I came, she gave him something to eat. He said to her, 'If I go to Woleae, I want you to remember the bad things that Tarev does.'

Q. What did you do about this?

A. Nothing.

"17. There is a three-month period in the spring in which the men fish every night. In this period the men live in the canoe sheds, and all sexual behavior is taboo."

Q. Does the alus still come to you?
A. He doesn't come anymore. Now I am very sad, and I cry.
Q. Why are you sad?
A. All kinds of voices come to me.
Q. Why do you live alone now [referring to the fact that he left his maternal home, to live in the formerly unoccupied house]?
A. Because I don't like the other people's conversations.
Q. Why not?
A. I speak bad things to my mother and sister. They don't like it, and then I become sad.
Q. Why do you say bad things?
A. When I'm around people, I say bad things. They don't like it, and then they become angry with me.
Q. What bad things do you say?
A. All the thoughts I have in my stomach. I remember those thoughts.
Q. Why don't you work like you used to do?
A. I don't like the work of this place. I like your work.
Q. What is my work?
A. You write on paper. You own things--chair and clothes.

Q. Aren't you ashamed that people see that you don't work?
A. No, because I want to do your work.
Q. Is there anything you'd like me to do for you?
A. I want to go with you. I don't want to stay here. I want to go with you to some other place.
Q. Why don't you want to stay here?
A. This place is a place for fools. All the people here are fools.
Q. Is Tom a fool?
A. No. If you leave here, I'll die.

At this point the men returned from fishing, and Tom wanted to get his fish, so we were forced to leave. But I first reassured Tarev that he would not die if I left."

29: Spiro--201-202 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 786 Ifalik-1-2

"January 22, 1948. Yesterday Tarev came to the tent and discovered our calendar hanging on the tent pole. He turned it page by page, looking at both the numbers and the pictures, with an almost beatific smile on his face, and singing all the time. Later in the day, while we were gone, he took the calendar to his home. Some of the others saw him and made him return it. When they asked why he took it, he said that I was his father and therefore he had a right to take things from me.

Last night, however, I witnessed one of the weirdest things I have seen him do. Just as I was falling asleep, I heard [202] his falsetto-- singing in front of our tent. He remained there for some time, alternately singing and stopping. Then he began to sing quite loudly and I decided to stop it and take him home. As I stepped out of the tent, I saw him, in the light of a full tropical moon, standing in front of the public meeting house. His hands were in the prayerful pose he often adopted in imitation, he said, of the padre, and he was singing to and bowing before the wooden phallus attached to the pillar. (18)

"18. This is quite a large carving of a penis, attached to the front pillar. Most of the people do not know what it represents, but the chiefs say it represents the penis of one of the earliest chiefs."

Intermittently, he would spit on it. He continued this for some time, alternately bowing to the phallus and spitting on it. This was a most impressive scene, and I stood watching it for a long time, until Tarev finally returned home."

29: Spiro--202 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159 Ifalik

"January 27, 1948. Tarev has been in a trance-like state for almost a week. It has been impossible to establish any contact with him. He is living in his own private phantasy world. Last night he came into our tent, while we were sleeping. I asked him what he wanted, but he was completely incoherent. He had a gleam in his eye I had never seen before--as if he were keeping something from me. I finally succeeded in getting him to return home.

Today, however, he has again gained contact with reality. The men were hauling in the fish nets from the beach, and he was helping. As I went to watch the activities, I praised him for his work. He smelled my hand and replied that he was working because he knew it would please me."

29: Spiro--202 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 762

"February 7, 1948 (aboard ship en route to Yap). The ship arrived yesterday to take us back. Tarev was the first to arrive at the tent to assist in the packing. He seemed calm though serious and slightly depressed, and kept constantly watching every movement I made. He asked if I were really leaving, and I said that I was. About half an hour later, a young boy shouted to me to come immediately to Tarev. He had gone to the lagoon and lay on his back in about two feet of water, refusing to allow the men to pull him out. By the time I arrived, he was half-drowned. I asked him to join me, which he did. I tried to reassure him that everything would be all right after I was gone, though he insisted that, now that I was leaving, the people would again try to kill him, and so on. He then smelled my hands and returned to his house in a deep depression. This is the last I saw of Tarev."

29: Spiro--202-203 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121 Ifalik-1 3

"Since it was virtually impossible to obtain a case history on Tarev, we cannot get at the basic psychodynamics of this case. One aspect of his life emerges quite clearly, however, as of crucial significance--his Japanese interlude. It is our thesis that though this Japanese experience was not the sufficient cause of his psychosis, it was the necessary precipitating factor that served to elicit this particular syndrome. (19)

Regardless of the differences between the conflicting interpretations of the meaning of the abnormal--absolutist and clinical versus relativistic and statistical (cultural)--all interpretations will agree that the incidence of certain types of mental disease differs widely in different cultures. Comparative statistical data demonstrate this empirically, and, for the anthropologist, the explanation is not too hard to find. The psychological concepts of adjustment and maladjustment--like the biological concepts of adaptation and maladaptation--are not substantive, but rather relational terms. An organism is adapted or maladapted not in vacuo, but with reference to a particular environment. Any organism, as Dewey has put it so well, lives not 'in an environment,' but rather 'by means of its environment,' so that a change in either the organism or the environment destroys their dynamic equilibrium and results in maladaptation. (20)

"19. This analysis, with some modifications, was part of a paper read before the Central States Branch of the American Anthropological Association at its 1949 meetings in Bloomington, Indiana.

20. John Dewey, Logic: The Theory of Inquiry; New York, Henry Holt, 1938; p. 25."

So, too, human personality exists not so much in a culture as by means of [203] a culture. Each culture creates its own particular stresses and strains with which the personality must cope, but, at the same time, the culture also provides instrumentalities--institutionalized techniques--for the resolution of those stresses and strains. (21) Now those individuals who, for whatever the reasons--and the reasons are still very much obscure--cannot resolve these culturally-created stresses and strains by means of the instrumentalities that the culture itself provides must resolve them by means of personal instrumentalities, idiosyncratic ways known as neuroses or psychoses. However, since each culture creates its own unique psychic strains, the kinds of maladjustments and, consequently, the kinds of resolutions of those maladjustments--neuroses

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"21. The high incidence of personality disturbances found in native cultures in acculturative situations, or in the rapidly changing American culture, may thus be explained by the fact that these cultures in transition create new tensions, but have not yet created those cultural channels necessary for the alleviation of the tensions. For a detailed analysis of this position and an attempt to resolve the conflicting interpretations of the abnormal, see the writer's 'A Cultural Interpretation of the Abnormal' (ms. in preparation)."

and psychoses--will vary from culture to culture. (22)

Ifaluk is no exception. Certain infancy and childhood traumata, which limitations of space do not permit description of, create certain tensions (frustration - aggression patterns) and needs (dependency-security patterns) which, if left unresolved could very well lead to severe personality disturbance. At the same time, however, the culture provides institutional techniques (primarily religious) which alleviate the tensions and satisfy the needs. These institutional devices obviate the necessity and preclude the occurrence of acute personality disturbances. Thus, the external culturo-dynamic equilibrium results in an internal psychodynamic equilibrium. This personality equilibrium, we have seen, was as characteristic of Tarev as of the other members of his society. Then an obtrusive element--cruel treatment at the hands of the Japanese--intruded into his sociocultural field so as to destroy the equilibrium."

"22. This analysis, of course, applies only to those disturbances that result from culturally-patterned events. It does not apply to those that result from unique or 'personal-social conditioning,' to use Kimball Young's term."

29: Spiro--203 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121, 181, 865 Ifalik

"The Ifaluk ethos is characterized by the ethic of nonaggression in interpersonal relations. Peace, cooperation, mutual aid--positively--and the inhibition of all aggression --negatively--are the basic values of Ifaluk culture. Furthermore, this culture is so patterned as to evoke a minimum of, if any, aggressive, arrogant, or competitive behavior. Given its cultural values, its culture pattern, and the effectiveness of its socialization process--it is little cause for wonder that there has not been one case of theft, robbery, rape, homicide, suicide, or domestic strife in the society--at least in the memory of any of the natives. Nor did the ethnographers witness any during their seven-month study. Since the culture neither permits nor evokes hostile or aggressive behavior in interpersonal relationships, it has evolved no techniques by which an individual, finding himself in such a situation, could come to terms with it. Only aggressive experiences of childhood are provided with cultural responses. Furthermore, a culture pattern which, in effect, elicits little aggression in adult life, has, as one of its consequences, the creation of personalities marked by a low threshold of frustration-tolerance. (23)"

"23. See Saul Rosenzweig, 'An Outline of Frustration Theory'; in J. McV. Hunt, ed., Personality and the Behavior Disorders; New York, Ronald Press, 1944."

"Tarev's cruel treatment at the hands of the Japanese was the first hostile experience he had encountered in his adult life. This experience was not only intrinsically alarming and frustrating but--what is even more important--it served to remobilize childhood traumata, reviving the anxieties, frustrations, and insecurities that until then had found cultural resolution. The result was psychosis, for the situation became overwhelming. To the first meaning of the cruelty--physical hurt--he could make no response: first, because the Japanese were the masters of the situation; and, second, because as a member of Ifaluk culture he was forced to inhibit his own aggression. To the [204] second meaning of the cruelty--the remobilization of his childhood traumata--there was no possible realistic--that is, cultural--response at all; for his culture had not provided for such a contingency. Since he could no longer live by means of his culture--'in his culturally constituted world,' to use Hallowell's phrase--he could live only by means of his own phantasies--his privately constituted world.

This theoretical analysis is substantiated by the facts. (24) As I stated earlier, the

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"24. Similarly, J. C. Carothers has shown that the incidence of 'mental derangement' among African natives is correlated with their living away from their native homes. See 'A Study of Mental Derangement in Africans, and an Attempt to Explain its Peculiarities, More Especially in Relation to the African Attitude to Life,' Psychiatry (1948) 11:47-85."

natives know of no instance of this kind of malebush prior to the Japanese occupation; and since the occupation, the only cases of this type have been two men who had worked in the labor gangs--Tarev and one other. To the knowledge of the people no person who had not had this Japanese experience has ever become a victim of this disorder. That other men did not break down under this pressure does not invalidate this analysis, for the same objection could be raised with respect to any population. All individuals in a given culture or subculture are exposed to the same or similar strains; certain of these personalities break down and others do not. The attempts to understand this differential threshold of frustration-tolerance has led investigators to the study of those biogenic and psychogenic factors that may be operative. What those factors might be in the case of Tarev and Aneitin are unknown since their case histories are unavailable."